435 Some information as to the cost in baht of the larger
796 ceremonies held in 1954, and their scale, was obtained from
[124] the school teacher's diary. Examples follow:

[792] Ordination: Total cost 8,000, including food 1400, liquor 800. Guests contributed 4000.

[852] Top-knot tonsure: Total cost 1550, including new utensils 550; 6 priests fed; each priest given 12 baht; 12 (2)pin-(1)toos filled to take to the temple; 100 duck eggs donated, and 300 baht received from 30-40 guests.

[714] Cremation[1]: Total cost 40,000[2], including about 10,000 for food; 61 priests fed[3]. About 500 guests contributed 4377.

[875] Homage-to-the-teacher ritual:
A: Total cost 715, including food 565 and liquor 150; 40 tang (800 liters) fish and 3 tang Chinese noodles donated.
B: Total cost, 11,000[4].

[585] Wedding: A: Thai Buddhist: Total cost 5000. Guests gave 2300.
[583] B: Rite of forgiveness after elopement: a meal, with 5 bottles of liquor.
[184] C: Moslem: 2 buffalo slaughtered. 400 guests.

585 Arranged marriages could be large merit-making affairs,
262 with a huge procession from one house to the other of twenty-
four "pairs" of specified foods, i.e. two bearers each of
[583] sugar cane, fruits, sweetmeats and other things. At more modest weddings and the rite of forgiveness for a couple who had eloped, food might differ from the usual fare only by including the three essentials of a wedding: pork, chicken and alcohol.

273 Increased consumption of alcoholic beverages during the
796 ceremonial season was indicated by the sales of one local
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1. Cremation was the last of several rites at death. Private 7-day, 30-day and 100-day rites were held, when priests came to the home to chant and to be feasted.

2. With cooperative assistance from well-situated relatives in Bangkok.

3. The whole chapter of priests from Wat Bang Chan
[792] was always included at cremations, and often others from a
[574] distance.

4. See list of food purchased, Appendix A, pp. 102-103.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

593 relationship (*disinterested* appreciation or admiration of the other individual; loving the child or parent in his own right, rather than in terms of his effect on the self) [29] it has a strong undercurrent of unreliability. Since the maintenance of the relationship is always dependent on what the participants can gain from it, *i.e.*, from the other person, and since the participants are essentially free to break the relationship once they feel that such rewards are not forthcoming, it is inevitable that there will be many instances when just that will happen. The crucial point is that there is nothing over and above the instrumental nature of the relationship to keep the individuals tied to one another. The only possible exception, an important one, is that which goes with the realization that by treating one's child or parent nicely, one is behaving in a moral way and is thus accumulating Buddhist merit; but even this purpose is avowedly self-referring in nature. In this regard, it might be noted that other than the [585] marriage ceremony, which is ignored by half of Bang Chan newlyweds, there are no institutionalized attempts to sanctify the solidarity of the family, or for that matter the solidarity of almost any social group. That is, unlike China and the West, there is nothing in traditional Thai folk belief and ritual, or in the literature of the indigenous "Great Tradition," that alludes to the sacredness of the family as a social unit. All moral aphorisms concerning family relationships are phrased in terms of the dyadic relations between individuals, not in terms of affiliation with the family unit as such.

593 The looseness of the ties that result from the instrumental nature of the *125 parent-child relationship are perhaps best revealed in the villagers' responses to the Sentence Completion stimuli, *"We want to give our child to him because . . .* (This is the English translation of the best Thai translation of the original English item, *"He wanted to give his child away because . . ."*). The reasons behind the use of this somewhat uniquely worded item are important. (The reader might imagine American responses to such a query.) The item was selected for inclusion in the SCT battery only after it became apparent that there might be a pattern to what

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[593] services of a younger, poorer, or weaker. This includes parent and child, sibling and sibling, or husband and wife, and all kinship relations are reducible to these terms."

*[125] [29] The responses to the Sentence Completion stimuli, *"When I think of my mother, I think of . . ."* and *"When I think of my father, I think of . . ."* are particularly revealing on this point. The vast majority of the responses on both these stimuli are in terms of the parents' effect on the self rather than in terms of what the parents are in their own right. Careful checking of the cues indicates that there is nothing in their grammatical or semantic structure that would predispose informants to produce such completions, *i.e.*, it is just as easy and feasible for informants to say ". . . how beautiful she is" or ". . . how clever she is" as it is for them to say ". . . the good things she has done for me." See chapter v for the actual responses.

583 the sanction of parents or guardians of either party. The latter case took the form of elopement -- the man taking the woman away from her family usually during the night and returning for pardon (normally granted) a few days after-
587 ward. Another intermediate type of marriage was common among independent family heads, usually widows and widowers, in which case the man and woman simply came to live with each other. Marriage between widows and widowers who had been living in their respective families as dependent mem-
583 bers also took this simplified form. Finally there was also marriage by capture, one case of which was reported during 1949-53 when a daughter of a laboring family in BC4 was kidnapped by a group of men who were allegedly helping a friend of theirs take the woman as his wife. Although this dramatic kind of marriage by capture was often spoken of, actually it rarely happened in the village. Even in the single case just mentioned, there was doubt on the part of fellow villagers that the victim was really ignorant of the plan.

583 In our records of major expenses of 96 families of
585 farm operators[8] during the period from 1949 to 1953, three
435 families reported expenses for conventional marriages. These expenses were for 1700, 6200, 7500 and 7500 baht for four sons which were dowries, in gold and cash. They were handed over to the brides' parents on the wedding day. Another family reported an expense of 5,300 baht for the marriage

8. See Chapter 6 as to how sampling for these 96 families was done.

583 of their adopted daughter, of which some 300 baht went to
• 535 bedding materials and 5,000 baht to the wedding feast which
435 the bride's parents alone were supposed to give. It should be noted, however, that in this last case the bride's parents received as dowry from the bridegroom's parents 4,000 baht in cash and two baht[9] weight of gold worth about a thousand baht, and they also received from the guests an aggregate customary contribution of 2,380 baht. Thus, the bride's parents came out with a net gain of 1,080 baht plus the gold which was to be given to the bride.

593 While the conventional marriage was somewhat costly especially for the bridegroom's party, the popular marriage by elopement was much less expensive. Our records show that in addition to nominal ceremonial materials of white cloth, candles and incense, the bridegroom had to pay a fine of only a few hundred baht to his wife's parents when the couple came to receive formal forgiveness from them.

We do not have comparative figures for the occurrence of conventional marriage and elopement, but the latter appeared very frequently in our daily field notes as against very few cases of the former.

591 There are two types of establishment of new families
184 after marriage: (a) immediately after marriage, and (b) some years after staying with parents of either party.

It was observed that immediate establishment of new families after marriage was common among couples originating from farm laboring families and families of poor farm operators.

[304] 9. One baht weight is equivalent to fifteen grams.

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511 needs at least two work suits in each rice season, one during the field preparation and another during the harvesting season.

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511 Kerosine is used every day for lighting purposes. We do not include in this category kerosine which is used in the farm work; but that used with the pressure lamp in fishing by spearing during the night is included in the ordinary household expenses, for we do not consider fishing as a farm enterprise but as a routine activity participated in by all Bangchan residents, farmers and non-farmers alike.

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[792]
[764]
[525] Contributions to neighbors is a necessary item of expense in the village. These are cash gifts made by invited guests to the sponsor of such rituals as ordination, cremation, marriage, topnotch-cutting, and teacher worship. These rituals usually take place during the dry season following harvesting when cash is abundant in the village and are always followed by feasts, not uncommonly in a series of two or three days. Since all these rituals necessitate the participation of the priests, they have to be arranged in consultation with the temple to avoid conflicting schedules. Although few rituals have been noted to be in conflict with one another, usually they are spread throughout the dry season and most people are able to attend rituals to which they are invited. In cases where they cannot attend in person, they are obliged by conventional requirement to send in their cash contributions. The standard cash contribution is 5 - 10 baht. Usually, a